Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya

(1310 – 1332 A. D.)

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SUMMARY

Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya I ruled from 1268 to 1318. He had two sons. Jatavarman Vira Pandya was the first son. He ruled from 1297 to 1342. The second son was Jatavarman Sundara Pandya. He ruled from 1300 to 1325. Father and sons were on cordial terms.

There was another prince and he was called Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya. He came to the throne in 1310. He fought with Vira Pandya snd joined the Muha mmadan invaders (Malik Kafur) who for the first time came to Tamil Nadu in 1311. Later he realised his mistakes and returned to his brothers in 1321. He lived till 1332.

Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya could be the last son of Kulasekara probably by a second queen or he could be the son of Kulasekara's younger brother Maravarman Vikrama Pandya who existed in the period 1298 to 1301.

— N. Sethuraman

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Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya (1310-32 A. D.)

(N. SETHURAMAN, B. SC., D. M. I. T.,)

The extreme south of the Indian peninsula was the Pandya kingdom. Madurai was its capital. In the middle of the 13th century the Pandyas rose to power. The entire Tamil country, Kerala and part of Ceylon were brought under the banner of the Pandyas. In the beginning of the 14th century the Pandyas were at their zenith. The country was rich and prosperous. This attracted the Muhammadan invaders from the north.

The successive Muhammadan invasions in 1311, 1319 and 1324 eclipsed the name and fame of the Pandyan empire which gradually declined down. The Muhammadans occupied Madura and established the Madurai Sultanate. In the year 1371 the Vijayanagar prince Kampana came to the rescue of the Tamil Kings, drove out the Muhammadans and restored orderly government in the Tamil country. The Pandyas retired to the south and existed till the middle of the 17th century.

The above is the brief history of the Pandyas of the south. The object of this article is to investigate an important historical event of the 14th century. It is generally believed that a Pandyan prince killed his father and joined the Muhammadan invaders. The present research reveals a different picture. Records show that the Pandyan prince, even though, at the initial stage, joined the Muhammadan invaders, later realised his fault and came back to his house. He did not kill his father.

In this connection, before proceeding further, I would like to refer to an important information about the names of the Pandyan princes. In the course of seven hundred years (1000 to 1700 A. D.) scores of Pandya kings existed. They had only six names often repeated. They are Kulasekara, Sundara, Vira, Vikrama, Srivallabha and Parakrama. These are the royal *(abisheka)* names bestowed on the princes at the time of anointment. They had the dynastic titles either Maravarman or Jatavarman. Princes with same or different royal names and with same or different titles ruled jointly or concurrently. Overlapping of the reigns is common. Brothers and their relatives may also have same anointed names. The princes are identified by their epithets, prasasthis, titles, surnames, birth star, accession dates and other internal and external evidence. *The personal names bestowed on the princes at the time of their birth would be different. Records introduce the anointed (royal) names only.* For further details I request the reader to please refer to my books Medieval Pandyas and The Imperial Pandyas.

Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya I

The most celebrated Pandyan king of the 13th century was Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya[1]. He came to the throne btween the 23rd June and the 12th July 1268. His Tamil prasasthi begins with *"ther polum alkul"*. He had the epithet *"emmandalamum kondarulia"* (who took every country). His birth star was Mula. His records with highest regnal years 44 and 47 corresponding to 1312 and 1315 are available[2]. As we shall see below Kulasekara was alive in 1318 also.

First Son

Jatavarman Vira Pandya was the first son of Kulasekara[3]. He came to the throne between the 16th May and the 5th June 1297. His rule extended upto 1342. Vira Pandya had the surname Kaliyugaraman. The fourth prakara walls of the Sri Rangam temple were built by him and they are called *"Kaliyugaraman tirumadil"*. A record which comes from Sri Rangam belongs to Vira Pandya.[4] It is in year 21, corresponding to 1318. The record states that Kulasekara, father of Vira Pandya, instituted a service called *"Kulasekaran Sandhi"* in his name in the temple. In order to meet the expenses he gifted the village Chittiravalli alias Kerala Chathurvedhimangalam to the temple. The royal letter, (*tirumukam*) from Kulasekara granting the village was received by the son Vira Pandya and he gave etfect to it (*ayyan tirumukappadiyil namum tantu*). This clearly shows that Kulasekara was alive in 1318. (The village Chittiravalli was also called Kerala Chathurvedhimangalam. This surname was probably given by the Kerala King Ravivarman Kulasekara who occupied this territory in the period 1313 to 1317).

Another record[5] which comes from Karkudi belongs to Vira Pandya year 22, month Vrichika, Purva Paksha Panchami, Uttiradam and Monday, The data regularly correspond to 30th October 1318. It states that upto that time the tank was dry and the lands fell shallow. They were repaired and assigned to the temple. The chieftains (*mudalis*) and the personal officers (*udankuttam*) of Perumal Kulasekara Deva and the Chieftain Vijayalaya Deva made necessary settlement. This again confirms that Kulasekara was alive in 1318. Probably that was his last date.

Second Son

Jatavarman sundara Pandya was the second son of Kulasekara. He came to the throne between the 17th March and the 27th April 1303. He had the epithet *'emmandalamum kondarulia'*. (who took every country). His rule extended upto 1325.

During this period there was another prince also called Jatavarman Sundara Pandya alias Kodandaraman. His birth star was Pushya. The Sanskrit poem Pandya Kulodaya states that Sundara Pandya alias Kodandarman was the son of the sister of Vira Pandya alias Kaliyugaraman. Evidently he was the grand-son of Kulasekara by a daughter. Sundara alias Kodandaraman came to the throne in 1304 and ruled till 1319. The family tree is given below.[6]

Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya I
of birth star Mula 1268 — 1318

Jatavarman Vira Pandya
alias Kaliyugaraman
1297—1342

Jatavarman
Sundara Pandya
1303 — 1325

Daughter

Jatavarman Sundara Pandya
alias Kodandaraman of birth
star Pushya 1304 - 1319.

Father and Sons

A record which comes from Nallur (near Virudhachalam) belongs to Maravarman Kulasekara.[7] It states that prince Sundara Pandya set up the image of God Vira Pandiswaram Udayar in the name of his elder brother Vira Pandya. He also set up the image of Goddess Desamikka Peruma Nachiar in the name of the queen of Vira Pandya. This record clearly shows that the brothers were on cordial terms. Sundara showed great respect to his elder brother.

Eight records which come from Sri Vaikundam are engraved on the same wall of the *mandapa* of the Vishnu temple.[8] Four belong to Kulasekara. They are dated 1300 to 1305. The records state that Kulasekara gifted lands to the temple for the formation of a garden called *stranai venran tirunandavanam.* The image of Goddess Vaikunda Valliyar (Lakshmi) was also set up. Provision was made for services in the month Masi on the day of Mula, the natal star of the king. A mandapa called *Kulasekaran tirumandapam* was also built.

One record belongs to Vira Pandya and it is dated 1300. The record states that the prince made gifts to the temple for conducting a service called Vira Pandyan sandhi in his name. Three records belong to younger brother Sundara Pandya. They are dated 1304, 1309 and 1316. The records state that Sundara arranged a special service called *Sundara Pandyan Sandhi* in his name in the temple. The compound wall was constructed by him and it was called *Sundara Pandyan tirumadil*. The front tower called *Sundara Pandyan gopuram* was also built by him. In all these records a pious devotee called Tevar Piran Tatar figures. He met Kulasekara and his sons on several occasions and obtained grants for the renovation and general repairs of the temple. The above records prove that the father and his two sons were getting on happily. There was no quarrel among them. All of them contributed services in the temples and thus served the people.

Malik Kafur invaded Tamil Nadu in April 1311 (which we shall see somewhere below). This was a great shock to Kulasekara who fell sick. The faithful son Sundara Pandya arranged special services in the Vishnu temple for the welfare

of his father. The services were to be conducted every month on the day of Mula, the natal star of his father.[9] Thanks to his prayers – Kulasekara lived till 1318.

In the year 1313 Kerala king Ravivarman Kulasekara and his co-regent Kerala Vira Pandya occupied Tiruchirappalli and the northern areas of Tamil Nadu.[10] The Pandyan brothers Vira and Sundara appealed to the Kakatiyas. The Kakatiya king Pratapa Rudra readily responded. In the year 1317 his generals drove out the Kerala princes from Tamil Nadu.[11] Vira Pandya, and Sundara Pandya were grateful to the Kakatiya general Muppidi Nayaka in whose name they arranged special services in the Virudhachalam temple.[12]

For ought we know is this. Kulasekara and his two sons Vira and Sundara were on cordial terms. There was no animosity in the family. The brothers were ever united This we shall again refer to when we study the narrations of the Muhammadan historians. During this period there were some more Pandyan princes. Here we are concerned with the activities of three contemporary princes only. We shall see them below,

Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya

Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya[13] came to the throne in 1315. His solapuram record [14] equates his eighth regnal year to saka 1244 confirming his accession in 1315. A record which comes from Ariyur is in the 7th year of the king and it mentions a coin called *valal vali tirandan panam.*[15] Another record which comes from Nagar is in his fourth year and introduces him as Parakrama Pandya alias *valal vali tirandan.* [16] Evidently Parakrama adopted this title in 1318-19. *Valal vali tirandan* means " *he who cut the way through by his sword* ". This high sounding title clearly indicates his success in some crucial battle. Incidentally Khusru Khan the general of Delhi Sultan Kutabdin Mubarak Shah invaded Tamil Nadu in 1318-19 but he was severely beaten back.[17] Probably Parakrama took a leading role in defeating the Muhammadan invader and adopted the title *valal vali tirandan.* The phrase *valal vali tirandan* is a fixed point in the history of the Pandyas. It has depth and historicity. If we find this phrase in any record we can immediately conclude that the record was engraved after 1319.

A record which comes from Madurai Meenakshi Amman temple is in two verses. It praises the valour and heroic adventure of the Pandya king " *valal vali tirandan* " evidently Parakrama Pandya.[18] The Tiruppani vivaram (chronicle of the Madurai temple) says [19] that the west gopura of the Madurai Meenakshi Amman temple was built by Parakrama Pandya in 1323 A. D. The Tiruppani-malai (another chronicle) also states that the gopura was built by him,[20] The record of Parakrama is found on the wall of the west gopura.[21] It states that Parakrama alias *valal vali tirandan* alias *vaiyam tola ninra perumal* (lord who was worshiped by the world) built the gopura. Madurai *Tala varalaru* and *Stanikar varalaru* (chronicles) state that in the saka year 1246 corresponding to 1324 A. D. the Delhi Sultan Maluk Nemi attacked Tamil Nadu. The Pandya king Parakrama alais *valal vali tirandan* fled to

Kalayar-koil near Madura. The Muhammadan invaders captured Madura and established the Madurai Sultanate.[22] Parakrama was captured and sent to Delhi. However he escaped and returned to Tamil Nadu. This is evident from a record which comes from Tiruvannamalai. It belongs to Maravarman Kulasekara II (of accession **1314**) year 20, month Vaikasi corresponding to 1334. It states that Sri Parakrama Pandya Devar alias *Para Raja Raman* alias *vaiyam tola ninra perumal* gifted cows to the temple[23] The fact remains that Parakrama lived till 1334.

Jatavarman Srivallabha

Jatavarman Srivallabha[24] came to the throne between the 23rd June and the 31st August 1308. He had the surname Akavaraman. A coin called *Akavaraman panam* was current in this period. He ruled till 1342. A record which comes from Dhurvasapuram[25] is in his 33rd year. It is dated Monday the 5th February 1341. It mentions the coin *valal vali tirandan* called after Parakrama of accession 1315. A record which comes from Tirukkalar is in the 25th year of Jatavarman Srivallabha[26] It is dated Saturday the 27th March 1333. The record states,[27]

> **"............in those days when Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya Deva came with the Muhammadans (tulukkar) the local chieftain, his brothers and the devotees were killed and the country was devastated due to rioting and floods....."**

This information clearly shows that a prince called Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya existed prior to 1333 and he joined the Muhammadan invaders who for the first time came to Tamil Nadu In 1311. We shall see the relevant sources and identify this prince.

Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya

The records of Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya are tabulated in Appendix I. He bears the title Jatavarman. His Tiruvarankulam record[28] year 14 mentions the coin *valal vali tirandan* which title was adopted by Parakrama in 1319. This shows that Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya came to the throne after 1305. His existence prior to 1333 is confirmed by Jatavarman Srivallabha. On the basis of this information the astronomical data of his records are applied to the period 1305 to 1333. The dates indicate that Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya came to the throne between the 5th February and the 30th March 1310. He existed till 1332. In 1333, Jatavarman Srivallabha states that in those days Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya joined the Muhammadan invaders.

Amir Khusru

Amir Khusru was the court poet of the Delhi Sultan Alaudin Khilji. Khusru also served as a captain in the army. He was a contemporary of the events which he graphically describes in his poems. He says that

Alaudin Khilji sent his general Malik Kafur to conquer the kingdoms in south ndia. Malik Kafur conducted two campaigns. In the first one he defeated the Kakatiyas. In the second campaign he went upto Madura the capital of the Pandyas. Khusru who was a witness to the campaigns narrates the events in detail and also gives the dates in Hijira calendar. His narrations are tabulated below.[29]

Invasion of south India by Malik Kafur

(In the Hijira calendar the day of the lunar month begins at Sunset. This is taken into account in the following dates)

Events	Hijira Date A. H.	Date in A. D.
1) Malik Kafur left Delhi …………	24th Jumadal Akkir 710	18—11—1310
2) Malik Kafur arrived at Devagiri and got support	Thursday 13th Ramzan 710	4— 2—1311
3) He left Devagiri on	17th Ramzan 710	8— 2—1311
4) Malik arrived at Bandri	5 days later	13— 2—1311
5) Malik left Bandri	Sunday 23rd Ramzan 710	14— 2—1311
6) Malik arrived Dwarasamudram	5th Shawal 710	25— 2—1311
7) Vira Ballala surrendered and made over his treasures to Malik Kafur	Friday 6th Shawl 710	26— 2—1311
8) Malik Kafur left Dwarasamudram for Tamil Nadu	Wednesday 18th Shawal 710	10— 3—1311
9) Malik plundered and massacred at Birdhul (Viradhavalam at Trichirapalli) He destroyed Kandur (Tanjore Kandiyur). He destroyed the golden temple at Brahmastpuri. He broke the idol, collected vast treasures. He destroyed the temples at Birdhul	13th Zilkada 710	4— 4—1311
10) He arrived at Kham	Thursday 17th Zilkada 710	8— 4—1311

Events	Hijira Date A. H.	Date in A. D.
11) Malik Kafur arrived at the gates, of Madura, the city belonging to sundara Pandya's brother	Five days later	13— 4—1311
12) Vira Pandya fled with his queens; Malik Kafur plundered the city and the palace; burnt the temple Jagnar (Chokkar the Shiva temple). left Madura on......	Sunday 4th Zilhijja 710	25— 4—1311
13) Malik Kafur returned with the booty; arrived at Delhi and presented himself before Alaudin Khilji on......	Monday 4th Jumadas Sani 711	18—10—1311

The above table is self explanatory. Amir Khusru says that Malik Kafur arrived at Bandri on 13th February 1311 (item No 4 of the above table). There Malik stayed to make enquiries respecting the countries in advance when he was informed, that the two Rais of Mabar (kings of Tamil Nadu), eldest named Bir Pandya (Vira Pandya) and the yongest named Sundara Pandya who had upto that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions and that Ballala Deo (the Hoysala king Vira Ballala) the Rai of Dwarasamudram on learning this fact, marched for the purpose of sacking their two cities and plundering the merchants, but on hearing of the advance of the Muhammdan army he returned to his own country.

Amir Khusru says that the eldest brother Vira Pandya and the youngest brother Sundara Pandya advanced against each other. We must carefully read his statement. The mention of eldest brother and youngest brother clearly shows that there should have been minimum three brothers. We know that Vira Pandya of accession 1297 and his younger brother Sundara Pandya of accession 1303 were on cordial terms In the words of Khusru the youngest Sundara Pandya fought with the eldest Vira Pandya. This proves that there should have been a third brother also called Sundara Pandya and he advanced against Vira Pandya. The battle should have been fought in the last quarter of 1310 and the Hoysala king Vira Ballala also participated in some form. When Ballala came to know the advance of the Muhammadan army, he immediately returned to his capital prior to 13th February 1311 on which date Malik Kafur arrived at Bandri and heard the above news.

Here we have two information. The first one is about the third (youngest) brother also called Sundara Pandya. The second information is the battle in the south around third quarter of 1310. The fight was among the Pandyas and the Hoysala king also took part in some form. Now let us see what the Hoysala records state about these events.

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Hoysala record

A record which comes from the Rishi gopura of the Kanchipuram Kamakshi-amman temple is in two verses.[30] It states that Ballala restored the Pallava king Ranganatha alias Rajaganda Gopala alias Vijayaganda Gopala to the throne at Kanchipuram, defeated the Chola and a Pandya and honoured two Pandyas. The record further states that Ballala married the daughter of the Pallava.

The Pallava king Vijayaganda Gopala[31] came to the throne in 1291 A. D. His record in year 21 corresponding to 1311-12 is also found on the same wall.[32] Evidently he should have been restored to the throne sometime before 1311 say in 1310 and his daughter married Ballala. During this period Ballala honoured two Pandyas and defeated a third Pandya. The two Pandyas were Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1297 and his younger brother Jatavarman Sundara of accession 1303. The third Pandyan prince who was defeated by Ballala is evidently the youngest Sundara Pandya, who in the words of Amir Khusru, advanced towards his eldest brother Vira Pandya. The Chola who was defeated by Ballala was probably a Telugu Chola chieftain.

A record[33] which comes from Virinchipuram west of Kanchipuram throws light on the circumstances under which the Pallava could have lost his throne. The record belongs to Vira Pandya year 12 month Aipasi corresponding to October 1308. It states that the chief Kulasekara Sambuvaraya made grants to the temple for celebrating a festival called *Andalil venran tirunal* in his name. The cheif claims to be victorious at a place called *Andalil* which is located in the vicinity of Virinchi-puram west of Kanchipuram. He makes this claim in the record of Vira Pandya Probably Vira Pandya assisted by his chief Kulasekara Sambuvaraya should have defeated the Pallava Chief Ranganatha alias Vijayaganda Gopala. The Pallava lost his throne at Kanchi. Later in 1310 Ballala married the daughter of the Pallava chief. On this auspicious occasion Ballala honoured his friends Vira Pandya and the younger brother Sundara Pandya and with their influence and friendship helped his father-in-law to mount the throne at Kanchi. Ballala also defeated the youngest brother Sundara Pandya who advanced against eldest brother Vira Pandya.

Vira Pandya was grateful to Ballala. In February 1311, when Malik Kafur attacked the Hoysala kingdom, Vira Pandya sent an army of horse and foot to assist Ballala.[34] In spite of this help, Ballala was defeated. After conquering the the Hoysalas, Malik Kafur invaded Tamil Nadu in April 1311, plundered the cities Tirichirappalli and Madurai and returned to Delhi in October of the same year.

The youngest Sundara Pandya who fought with eldest Vira Pandya and who was also defeated by the Hoysala king Ballala in 1310 was evidently Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya of accession 1310 who in the words of Jatavarman Srivallabha joined the Muhammadan invaders when they came to Tamil Nadu in April 1311. We shall now see further information in the accounts of Wassaf.

Wassaf

About this time Sultan Uljitu was ruling in Persia. Tehran was its capital. Wassaf was a popular poet in the Persian court. He started writing his work in 1300. In June 1312 he completed the first four volumes and presented them to the Sultan who was much pleased and rewarded Wassaf. In the fourth volume Wassaf refers to the Pandyan princes and the campaign of Malik Kafur. Wassaf states[35] that Kulasekara had two sons. The first son was Sundara Pandya and he was the legitimate son. The second son was Vira Pandya whose mother was the concubine of Kulasekara. As Vira Pandya was very shrewd and intelligent Kulasekara anointed him successor rejecting the claim of the legitimate son Sundara Pandya who being enraged at this supercession, killed his father in a moment of rashness and undutifulness towards the close ot the year 709 H (1310 A. D.) and placed the crown on his head in the city of Mardi (Madurai). Upon this. in the middle of the year 710 H (1310 A. D.) his brother Vira Pandya assisted by the son of the daughter of Kulasekara advanced against Sundara Pandya who trembling and alarmed fled from his own country and took refuge in the court of Alaudin Khilji at Delhi.

Wassaf's account does not agree with the inscriptions and also Amir Khusru. All the Pandyan princes were legal heirs as evidenced by the dynastic title Jatavarman. Kulasekara was not killed in 1310. He lived till 1318. It was Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya, the youngest brother who joined the Muhmmadan invaders. This information coupled with gossip, rumours and accounts of doubtful accuracy reached Persia and Wassaf thought that a friend of the Muhammadans was legitimate son and the enemy of the Muhammadans was illegitimate son. Wassaf did not come to India. He says that he has written the account based on the oral statements gathered from his trustworthy friends. Those friends were the officers and attendants of the persian ambassador in the court of Alaudin Khilji. They were in Delhi when Malik Kafur returned after the campaign of South India. Alaudin Khilji who was not on cordial terms with the Sultan of Persia,[killed the ambassador and ill treated his officers and attendants. Those who escaped the torture and miseries fled to Persia. They informed wassaf about the campaign of Malik Kafur and also the hearsay stories about the Pandyan princes. In the circumstances Wassaf doubted the very story which he heard. For he says,

" While I was engaged in writing this passage, one of my friends said to me": The kings of Hind are celebrated for their penetration and wisdom; why then did Kales Dewar, during his lifetime, nominate his younger and illegitimate son as his successor; to the rejection of the elder, who was of pure blood, by which he introduced distraction into a kingdom which had been adored like a bride".

This clearly proves that Wassaf suspected it as a rumour, He is very cautious in his assessment of the picture. There is reason for this. After the ruthless

campaign of the south, Malik Kafur (*who in the words of Wassaf was a very saturn*) returned to Delhi in October 1311. Wassaf refers to this campaign and the Pandyan princes in his fourth volume which he presented to his sultan in June 1312. The information which he gathered within an interval of eight months got twisted and this prompted Wasssf to doubt the truth behind the story.

At any rate the fact remains that Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya, the youngest prince, was a rebel in the Pandyan house and in the year 1311, he joined the Muhammadan invaders. Circumstances prompt us to surmise that Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya was the last son of Kulasekara, probably by a second queen or he could be the son of Kulasekara's younger brother who is referred to in the Tirukkadaiyur record discussed below.

Tirukkadaiyur record

A record which comes from Tirukkadaiyur (Thanjavur district) belongs to Kulasekara [36] It is in his 34th year dated Sunday the 10th September 1301. The record registers a joint resolution of the Brahmanas of two Brahmadeyas and the Vellala farmers of the adjoining villages to set apart 10 veli of lands for burning 108 perpetual lamps in the temple of Kalakala Dewar for the welrare of the king Kulasekara. The occasion for this gift is stated to be that their prayer to the god was answered by way of the king having resumed for himself the administration of the *nadu* (country) from his younger brother (*tiruttambi*), and thus having enabled them to return to their own homes from other regions to which they had fled owing to the disturbed state of the country, for a long time, and where they had to suffer great privation and miseries.

The story is very clear. Kulasekara entrusted the administration of the country to his younger brother in whose reign the people suffered a lot and fled to the other areas. They prayed to god and also appealed to Kulasekara to take the administration in his hands. Kulasekara readily obliged the people and brought the country under his direct rule. Naturally the younger brother should have been disappointed and embittered by frustrations. The date was 1301. Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya could be the son of that frustrated younger brother of Kulasokara and in order to take revenge he could have advanced against Vira Pandya in 1310. *This is only a reasonable assumption*, The younger brother of Kulasekara should also be a Maravarman. Curiously two records belonging to a Maravarman Vikrama Pandya coming from Vridhachalam and Acharapakkam point out the existence of Vikrama Pandya in this period. The former[37] quotes year 3, Makara, Purva Paksha, Trayodasi, Pushya and Monday corresponding to 23rd January 1301. The latter[38] quotes year 3, Mina, Apara Paksha, Ekadasi, Sravana and Monday corresponding to 6th March 1301. The dates indicate his accession in 1298 and his existence upto 1301. Probably he could be the younger brother of Kulasekara. The dates point out his anointment a year after the accession of Vira. Why should Kulasekara crown his son Vira in 1297 and his own younger brother Vikrama in 1298? could it be the reason for the bad administration of

Vikrama? There is some lacuna in this and we are unable answer it at present Except the astronomical data we have no other means to confirm the existence of of Maravarman Vikrama of accession 1298. Curiously the astronomical data of these two records do not agree with the dates of other known Maravarman Vikrama Pandyas[39] of accession 1218, 1250, 1282, 1322 and 1347. The Pandyas exercised their authority in the northern areas of the Tamil country in the period 1251 to 1371 and strangely the data of the Vridhachalam record produce the date 23rd January 1301 only. Thus astronomy is the only and lone plus point in our favour in proposing the existence oi this Vikrama in 1298 to 1301 and in the present state of our knowledge and acquaintance of the source materials, we are obliged to assume that Maravarman Vikrama of accession 1298 could be the younger brother of Kulasekara.

However it may be, whether he was the son of Kulasekara or the son of his younger brother, Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya, the youngest in the family. fought with his eldest brother Vira and joined the Muhammadan invaders in 1311. There was another Muhammadan invasion (Khusru Khan) in 1319 but this time they were beaten back. Raja Rajan Sundara should have realised his mistake and returned to his brothers. Probably this was the reason for the appearance of his records from 1321 only. He was alive in 1332. His fate is not known.

APPENDIX I

Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya

Village and Record	Year and Data	Date
Adhanur Pd 424	12, Mesha, ba 13, Friday and (uttiratta) thi (See Tamil text)	27th March 1321
Neyvasal Pd 351	12, Mesha, su 13 mistake for 14, Chitra and Sunday	12th April 13 21
Kunnandarkoil Pd 353	12, Mithuna, Su 1, Pushya and Friday	26th June 1321
Kalappal 334 / 1925	12, Tula, ba 3 mistake for Su 14, Monday Uttirattathi	5th October 1321
Malaiadipatti Pd 520	Year 12	1321-22

Village and Record	Year and Date	Date
Adhanur		
Pd 354	Year 12	1321-22
Pd 355	Year 12	1321-22
Kalappal S. I. I. VIII 265	13, Simha, ba 8, Rohini and Friday (First set of data)	6th August 1322
—do—	13. Kanni, Su, Visaka and Wednesday (second set of data)	15th September 1322
Koil Tirumalam 248 / 1917	13, Kumba, Su 3, Sadayam mistake for Revathi, Wednesday	9th February 1323
Adhanur Pd 356	13, Karthigai	November 1322
Iraniyur 11 / 1926	13	1322-23
Velangudi 504/1959	14, Vaikasi	May 1323
Tiruvarankulam Pd 487	14, Vaikasi—mantions the coin valal vali tirandan panam called after Parakrama Pandya of accession 1315	May 1323
Tiruvarankulam Pd 488	14, Ani	June 1323
Kalappal S. I. I. VIII 268	23 Tula, Su 3, Mula and Friday	23rd October 1332
Kunnakkudi 42/1909	lost	

On the basis of 248 of 1917 Revathi in Kumba of 1310 falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 4th February. On the basis of Pd 424 Uttirattathi in Mesha of 1310 falls in the first year. The star was current on 30th March. *Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya came to the throne between the 5th February and the 30th March 1310.*

Kalappal S. I. I. VIII 265 supplies two sets of data in the same 13th year. This is a fixed point. The *thithi* quoted in 424 helps us in correcting the *thithi* in 351. Corrections are suggested in 334 of 1925 and 248 of 1917 following the law of astronomy. The errors in the astronomical data in a few records are due to the troublesome period after the Muhammadan invasions. Internal evidence justify the initial date 1310,

Elsewhere vide my book The Imperial Pandyas (edition 1978) I surmised that Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya came to the throne in 1313. I made further research and I am fully convinced of the revised date 1310 which correctly fits into the accounts of Amir Khusru and the records of the Hoysala king Ballala. The revision does not make any harm or damage to the methodology of my earlier surmises. In fact the revision helps us in understanding the history of this period in a better way. The investigation of the Pandyan records is so difficult that it took seven years for me in finding the correct accession year of this prince.

APPENDIX II

A) An individual by name Meiykkun Devan Sokkanayaner Vijayaganda Gopala figures in the following records. The villages mentioned below are within a radiue of 3 kilometers.

Village and Record	King	Year
Kallappal S. I. I. VIII 265	Raia Rajan Sundara year 13	1322
Kallappal S. I. I. VIII 268	Raja Rajan Sundara year 23	1322
Tirukkalar S. I I. VIII 247	Jatavarman Srivallabha year 25	1333
Tirumakkottai 260 and 267 of 1917	Maravarman Kulasekara II year 22, Karkataka, su 1. Thursday, Pushya	20th July 1335
Kallappal S. I. I. VIII 262	Maravarman Kulasekara II year 23	1337
Kallappal S. I. I. VIII 237	Maravarman Kulasekars II year 23	1337

B) An individual by name Chellappillai alias Parakrama Pandya Amarakonar figures in the records Pd 351, 354 and 355 of Appendix I of Raja Rajan Sundara

Pandya. He is evidently the officer of Jatavarman Parakrama of accession 1315 and he figures in the records dated 1321—22 of Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya. The records state that the cultivating tenancy right of the devadana lands lying in the village Arasamanavala Nallur was conferred on Parakrama Pandya Amarakoner who inturn agreed to spend the income from the lands for services in the shiva temple Vadapulum Udaiyar and also to conduct special service called Amarakon sandhi in his name in the temple. It is said that the grant waa also recorded on copper.

C) Pd 353 (Appendix I) dated 1321 states that Raja Rajan sundara Pandya gifted 101 gold coins as endowment to the shiva temple Thiru Kunrakudi Udaiya Nayanar. The interest accrued was to be utilised for performing sacred services in the temple and also for conducting a special service called Raja Rajan Sundara Pandyan sandhi in his name in the temple It is said that the grant was also recorded on copper. The other records (Appendix I) also register similar grants by the king or by his officers to various temples.

D) Kalappal record 334 of 1925 (of Appendix I) of Raja Rajan Sundara is dated 1321. In this record a chief by name Sokka Nayanar Parkrama Pandya Malavarayar figures. Evidently he is an officer of Parakrama of acceseion 1315 and he figures in the record of Raja Rajan sundara.

E) Another individual by name Sakatanar Monnaiyar Akalanka Nadalvar figures In the Koil Tirumalam record 248 of 1917 of Raja Rajan Sundara year 13 dated 1323, The same Individual figures in the Tiruppugalur record 73 of 1928 of Maravarman Kulasakara II year 19 dated 1333. The two villages are within a distance of ten kilometers.

F) The above records prove that Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya who joined the Muhammadan invaders in 1311, returned to his house in 1321, followed in the footsteps of his ancestors and granted gifts liberaly to the temples. The contemporary Pandyan princes were also magnanimous and affectionate towards him.

FOOT NOTES

1 Kielhorn E. I. IX page 227; Sewell I. A. 1915 page 198; N. Sethuraman- The Imperial Pandyas page 98.

2 Thirukkalakkudi 106 of 1916 year 44; and Valliyur 600 of 1915 year 47

3 N. Sethuraman - Two Jatavarman Sundara Pandyas of accession 1303 and 1304 The Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India Volume Ten edition 1983.

4 S. I. I, XXIV 221.

5 Karkudi (near Trichirappalli) 38 of 1913; I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Directer of Epigraphy who was kind enough to send me the transcript of the record.

6 As in 3 above.

7 Nallur (near Vridhalchalam) 156 of 1941; A. R. Ep. 1939 to 43 page 249.

8 A. R. Ep. 1959-60 page 25.

9 Ramnad district Tirumal Ugandan Kottai record 51 of 1931-32 Jatavarman Sundara year 9

10 N. Sethuraman - The Imperial Pandyas page 136.

11 Jambukeswaram S. I. I. IV 430 and Sri Rangam S. I. I. XXIV 283 - tiruvadi kundramu Vira Pandi ninni, malayala tiruvadi Kulasekaru ninni.

12 Virdhachalam 72 of 1918 Jatavarman Sundara Pandya of accession 1303 year 14.

13 Robert Sewell E. I. XI page 264 and N. Sethuraman - The Imperial Pandyas page 152.

14 Solapuram 487 of 1909.

15 Ariyur - Pd 622 - Jatavarman Parakrama year. 7

16 Tirukkovilur taluk - Nagar 303 of 1910.

17 Elliot and Dowson - History of India as told by the Muhammadan historians edition 1871 - Part III pages 214, 215 and 219

18 Madurai 7 of 1915.

19 & 20 Dr. D. Devakunjari - Madurai - through the ages edition 1979 page 222; Indian Antiquary 1911 page 138; Indian Antiquary 1914 page 4.

21 Madurai 58 of 1905.

22 Dr. Devakunjari - Madurai through the ages page 160.

23 Tiruvannamalai S. I. I. VIII 73.

24 N. Sethuraman - The Imperial Pandyas - page 156.

25 Dhurvasapuram - Pd 638 Jatavarman Srivallabha year 33, Kumbha, Hasta and Monday.

26 Tanjore district Tirukkalar S. I. I. VIII 247 year 25, Mesha, Purva Paksha Ekadasi, Maka and Saturday.

27 Ibid lines 16 to 20.

28 Tiruvarunkulam Pd 487 Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya year 14 month Vaikasi; A. R. E. 255 of 1914 is same.

29 Elliot and Dowson Part III pages 69 and 555. Also see N. Sethuraman. The Imperial Pandyas pages 176 to 178.

30 Kanchipuram 312 of 1954-55; A. R. Ep. 1954-55 page 16.

31 A. R. Ep. 1954-55 page 16; Inscriptions of Nellore district part II - Nellore records 60 and 71.

32 Kanchipuram 310 of 1954-55

33 Virinchipuram 180 of 1940 read with the same temple record 178 of 1940 of Vira Pandya year 14. Also see A. R. Ep. 1939-43 page 250 para 55.

34 Elliot and Dowson Part III pages 49 and 50.

35 Elliot and Dowson Part III pages 25 and 49 to 54.

36 S. I. I. XXII Part I No. 46.

37 Vridhachalam Maravarman Vikrama 82 of 1918.

38 Achcharapakkam Maravarman Vikrama S. I. I. VII 465.

39 (a) Maravarman Vikrama Pandya I of accession 1218 - see N. Sethuraman Medieval Pandyas page 173.

(b) Maravarman Vikrama Pandya II of accession 1250 - see N. Sethuraman. The Imperial Pandyas page 58.

(c) The data of 54 of 1905 dated saka 1209 and 14 of 1933 Indicate the existence of Maravarman Vikrama III of accession 1282.

(d) The data of 286 of 1929; S. I. I. VII 916 and Tamil Nadu State Archaeology Nannilam Taluk Tiruppanaiyur 198/1978 agree with Maravarman Vikrama V alias Rajakkal Nayan of accession 1322.

(e) Maravarman Vikrama VI of accession 1347 - see N. Sethuraman - Five Pandya kings of the 14th century - paper presented in the 1984 Epigraphical Conference held at Aurangabad.

Earthquakes referred to in the inscriptions.

(N Sethuraman, B. Sc., D. M. I. T.)

A record[1] which comes from the south wall of the fifth prakara of the Arunachaleswara temple in Tiruvanna malai (Tamil Nadu) is in Tamil language and in the character of 16th century. It states that in the cyclic year Prabhava, on the 16th day of the Tamil month Adi, there was an earthquake (**bhukambam**) due to which the wall collapsed. It was reconstructed by Atikasam Tatti Reddiyar. The date of this secord can be found with the help of two rccords coming from the same temple. The former[2] belongs to the Vijayanagara emperor Krishna Deva Raya and it is dated Saka 1438, cyclic year Datri, month Makara, Purva paksha Trayodasi and Monday which regularly correspond to 5th January 1517. The record describes the details of the various grants made by the emperor to the temple. It further states that the emperor built the eleven storey gopura in front of the temple. Another record[3] which comes from the gopura itself belongs to the Vijayanagara governor Sevappa Nayaka. The record is dated Saka 1494 cyclic year Angiras month Simha corresponding to August I572 A. D. The record states that Sevappa Nayaka reconstructed the eleven storey gopura. Probably the earthquake could have damaged the gopura. The date of the earthquake should be earlier and closer to 1572. The data cyclic year Prabhava month Adi, day 16, agree with 15th July 1567. On this fateful day the earthquake shook Tiruvannamalai

and the gopura was damaged. This date answers the necessity for reconstructing the gopura in 1572. (Even today it stands to a height of 216 feet).

Another record[4] which is found on a pillar in the Channakesava Swamin temple in the village Santaravuru, Bapatla Taluk, Guntur district (Andhra Pradesh) is in Telugu. It is dated saka 1575 mistake for 1576, Jaya, Ashada, ba 30 and Monday corresponding to 3rd July 1654. The record states that in the second quarter of the night the earth shook (**ratri remddo (do) jamu vela bhumi adirenu**) and all temples crumbled.

It is interesting to note that there was an earthquke in Tamil Nadu in 1567 and another one in Andhra in 1654. In both the cases it occurred in the solar month Karkataka when the sun was in the Kataka Rasi (90 to 120 degrees). This information will be useful to the students of geology.

I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy who was kind enough to send me the transcripts of the records which refer to the earthquakes.

FOOT NOTES

1) Tiruvannamalai 81 of 1945-46; A. R. Ep. 1945-46 page 5

2) Tiruvannamalai S. I. I. VIII 165

3) A. R. Ep, 419 of 1928-29; A. R. Ep. 1928-29 Page 86

4) A. R, Ep. 470 of 1915

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